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MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

RULERS OF LAHIJAN AND FUMAN, IN GILAN, PERSIA

This account of the local dynasties of Gilán is culled from the following sources:—

1. *Ta'rifkh-i-Gilán wa Daylamistán* (750–894 = 1349–1488) of Mír Zahíru'd-Dín Mar'ashí, published at Rasht in 1330 A.H., by H. L. Rabino, from the only known manuscript which is in the Bodleian Library.
2. *Ta'ríkh-i-Khání* (880–920 = 1475–1514) of 'Alí ibn Shamsu'd-Dín ibn Hájjí Husayn Láhijí, edited by B. Dorn, St. Pet., 1857.
3. *Ta'ríkh-i-Gilán* of 'Abdu'l-Fattál Fúmaní (923–1038 = 1517–1628), edited by B. Dorn, St. Pet., 1858.
4. *Majálisu'l-Mú'miní* of Qází Núru'lláh Tustarí, in which appears the genealogy of Amír Kiyá, and a brief account of his successors.

Other Persian works, such as the *Ahsanu't-Tawárfkh* of Hasan Beg Rúmlú, the *Sharaf-náma* of Sharafu'd Dín of Bitlís, etc., have also been consulted.

LÁHIJÁN

The district of Láhiján, one of the largest and most important of the province of Gilán, lies eastward of the Sáfid Rúd, and is nearly all plain, having but few mountains to the south. It is bordered on the north by the Caspian, on the east by Langarúd and Ránikúh, on the south by Sumám and Duylamán, on the south-west by Siyáhkál, and on the west by the Sáfid Rúd and the districts of Mawázi and Lashtanisháh.

Its length from north to south, that is from the former mouth of the Sáfid Rúd to Sarlayl, is about 27 miles, and its width from east to west, or from Kisum to Dizbún, about 15 miles.

Mustawfi in the eighth (fourteenth) century describes

Lāhijān as a fair-sized town. Much silk was manufactured here, and the district grew rice and corn, also oranges and shaddock with other fruits of a hot region.

During the beginning of the third century of the Hijra, Lāhijān was part of the dominions of Wahsūdān, king of Daylam, who, by ceding Shāmirān to the Āl-i-Kangār family, i.e. to Muḥammad ibn Muẓaffar, lost his supremacy over the whole of Gilān, and thus confined his own dynasty to the possession of Lāhijān, that is to half only of his former kingdom.

When Uljāytū Sultān invaded Gilān, the ruler of Lāhijān, Pādishāh Nū¹ and his relatives, came out to meet him with a sword and winding sheet, and made their submission. He was well received, and was given in marriage the daughter of one of the Mongol Amirs. He was not only confirmed in his government, but the other rulers of Gilān were made subordinate to him. Rashīdu'd-Dīn Fazlu'llāh describes him as the greatest ruler in Gilān in wealth and in dignity. The ruler of Tamijān was at that time Amira Muḥammad, who also submitted to the Mongols.

Half a century later, the rulers of Lāhijān and Rānikūh were two brothers of the Nāṣirwand clan. Amira Sharafu'd-Dawla, son of Amira Pahlawān, had relinquished the throne of Lāhijān to his son, Amira Jihān, and started on a pilgrimage to Mecca, but, falling ill at Tabriz, he returned to Lāhijān, where he died.

His brother, Amira Muḥammad, was ruler of Rānikūh. He also abdicated in favour of his son, Nū Pāshā, and went to reside at Chahārda.

Nū Pāshā had first to contend with Sayyid 'Alī Kiyā. The latter, with the help of Sayyid Rikābzan Kiyā of Tunakābun, entered Rānikūh and surprised Chahārda, where he put Amira Muḥammad to death. Nū Pāshā compelled Sayyid 'Alī Kiyā to retire to Āmul, and entered

¹ ? Pādishāh-i-Naw.

into an alliance with Sayyid Rikābzān. These two compassed the death of Amīra Jihān, and occupied Lāhijān. On the approach of Amīra Anūz Kūhdumī to the help of Amīra Muḥammad and Amīra Pahlawān, the sons of the late ruler, the inhabitants of Lāhijān rose against and slew Sayyid Rikābzān Kiyā, whilst Amīra Nū Pāshā fled to Rānikūh. The latter was soon compelled to leave the country by Sayyid ‘Ali Kiyā, who in 769 A.H. = 1367–8 A.D., rendered himself master of the whole of Biyapish (that part of the plain of Gilān lying to the east of the Sāfid Rūd). After the defeat and death of Sayyid ‘Ali at Rasht, Amīra Dubbāj of Fūman gave Lāhijān to Kūla Bahādur Nāṣirwand, who had married the sister of Amīra Muḥammad Rashti, Gūka to Fir‘awn ibn Mālik, Pāshijā to Amīra Jalālu’d-Dīn, and Rānikūh and Kisum to Amīra Maṣ‘ūd. These governors belonged to the Nāṣirwand clan. Rānikūh was given to Salūk Mardāwīj, a person formerly in the service of Sayyid ‘Ali Kiyā, but who had left it out of spite, and was in command of the troops that had defeated the Sayyid at Rasht.

This second rule of the Nāṣirwand only lasted five months, from Rāmazān, 791, to Ṣafar, 792 (Aug., 1389 to Jan.-Feb., 1390 A.D.), when Sayyid Hādī Kiyā again seized the whole of Biyapish.

The Amīr Kiyā’i Sayyids ruled Biyapish from 769 to 1000 A.H. (1367–1592 A.D.). The first person of this family to rebel was Amīr Kiyā, son of Ihsayn ibn Hasan ibn ‘Ali (who removed from Fashtām to Mālāt) ibn Ahmad ibn ‘Ali al-Ghaznawī (so called because he was for some time a pupil of ‘Abdu’l-Wahhāb Ghaznawī), ibn Muḥammad ibn Abū Zayd (who left Abhar for Gilān, where he settled in the village of Fashtām in Kūhdum) ibn Abī Muḥammad Ihsayn ibn Ahmad al-Akbar (known as ‘Aqiqi Kawkabi), ibn ‘Isā al-Kūfi (a very learned person who out of fear of the ‘Abbāsids fled from Kūfa

to Abhar), ibn 'Ali ibn Husayn al-Asghar ibn 'Ali Zaynu'l-Ābidin.

Sayyid Amīr Kiyā was compelled to retire to Rustamdār, where he died about a year later, in 763 A.H. (1361–2). His son Sayyid 'Ali, with the help of the Mar'ashi Sayyids of Māzandarān, made himself master of Biyapish in 769 (1367–8), and gradually extended his rule to the mountains of Ashkawar and Daylamān, to Kūhdum, Lashtanishāh, and Kūchisfahān, and even to Tārum and Qazwin, which latter city he held for seven years. Timūr summoned him to surrender Qazwin, Tārum, and the castle of Shamirān, a summons which had to be obeyed. The loss of prestige consequent upon this surrender emboldened the rulers of Rasht, Fūman, Shaft, and Gaskar to endeavour to wrest Kūhdum and Kūchisfahān from the Sayyid's hands. Sayyid 'Ali and many of his brothers and relatives were killed in 791 (1389), in a battle outside Rasht, and Biyapish, together with the mountainous country south of it, fell once more under the sway of its former rulers. Five months later Sayyid Hādi Kiyā, a brother of Sayyid 'Ali Kiyā, who had been appointed governor of Tunakābun, where he had remained unmolested after his retreat from Rasht, was invited by Amira Dubbāj of Fūman to bring Biyapish under his rule. This he succeeded in doing, but in 797 (1394–5) his nephews, Sayyid Husayn Kiyā, son of Sayyid 'Ali Kiyā, and Sayyid Muhammad Kiyā (known as Amira Sayyid Muhammad), son of Sayyid Mahdi Kiyā, dissatisfied with their uncle because of his refusal to return to them the districts which had belonged to their father, compelled him to retire to Tunakābun. Sayyid Husayn Kiyā became ruler of Lāhijān, and Amira Sayyid Muhammad ruler of Rānikūh. Sayyid Husayn Kiyā was an incompetent governor who soon alienated the good will of the inhabitants, so that his brother, Sayyid Rāzi Kiyā, had no difficulty in ousting him. The new Wāli turned his attention to the mountainous

region south of Lāhijān, from which he expelled the Hazāraspi, Kūshayj, and Isma'ili (Assassin) rulers, and brought the whole of that country, including Alamūt, under his sway. His authority once firmly established, he began rebuilding and embellishing Rānikūh, Rūdisar, Malāt, Daylamān, Sūmān, and other villages. He died on the 1st Jumāda i, 829 (March 11, 1426), and was succeeded by his brother, Sayyid Ḫusayn Kiyā, the former Wāli. The last-named seized the Pusht-i-Kūh district of Rustamdār, but was ordered by Timūr to return it to its rightful owner, Malik Kayūmarth. In consequence of a private quarrel with Amīra Sayyid Muḥammad of Rānikūh, the latter in Ṣafar, 833 (November, 1429), came with his troops to Lāhijān, where he installed his son, Sayyid Nāṣir Kiyā, as ruler. Sayyid Ḫusayn Kiyā having collected reinforcements marched on Lāhijān, and Sayyid Nāṣir Kiyā was compelled to retire to Malāt. Amīra Sayyid Muḥammad expelled Sayyid Ḫusayn Kiyā a second time, and appointed governor the latter's nephew, Sultān Ḫusayn Kiyā. Shortly afterwards Kārgiyā Nāṣir Kiyā and Kārgiyā Sayyid Aḥmad rebelled against their father, Amīra Sayyid Muḥammad, and confined him in the castle of Alamūt, where he died on the 8th Jumāda i, 837 (December 21, 1433).

Kārgiyā Nāṣir Kiyā then became ruler of Lāhijān, and his brother that of Rānikūh, but the latter, dissatisfied with his share, openly took up arms against his brother in 845 (1441-2). He was defeated and finally sought refuge with Amīra Muḥammad at Rasht, where he died on the 28th Rajab, 853 (September 17, 1449).

Kārgiyā Nāṣir Kiyā died on the 12th of Dhu'l-Qa'da, 851 (January 19, 1448), and was succeeded, as ruler of Biyapish, by his son, Sultān Muḥammad, who, at one time, was overlord of the whole borderland, "*dāru'l-marz*," from Astārā to Astarābād, by appointment of the Court of Persia. Sultān Muḥammad sent many expeditions to Rustamdār, and in 872 (1467-8) occupied Qazwin, which he held for

some time. Later, on agreeing to pay to the Royal Treasury of Hasan Beg 40 *kharwārs* of 60 *mans* of Tabriz of silk, he was given full control of Biyapas (that part of the plain of Gilān lying to the west of the Safid Rūd), and in 882 (1477-8) proclaimed Amīra Is-hāq ruler of that district.

Sultān Muḥammad died on the last day of Rabi' i, 883 (July 1, 1478), and was succeeded by his eldest son, Mirzā 'Ali, who abolished the "zana-zar" and "murdashūrāna" taxes (on weddings and funerals) and allowed daughters of parents who had no male heir to inherit. During the zenith of his power his rule extended to Qazwin, Shahriyūr, Tihrān, the district of Ray and Warāmin, Firūzkūh, Tārum, Sāwa, Zanjān, and Sultāniyya, and he sent numerous expeditions to Māzandarān.

His relations with the rulers of Biyapas, however, became very strained, and his brother Sultān Hasan, taking advantage of the invasion of Lāhijān and Daylamān by the troops of Biyapas, deposed him and proclaimed himself Wāli. Eighteen months later, on the 4th Ramazān, 911 (January 29, 1506), Sultān Hasan was murdered by his brother, Mirzā 'Ali, who himself was killed the next day by the followers of his victim.

Sultān Ahmād Khān succeeded his father, Sultān Hasan. His barber, Warsar Qāsim, had been appointed by him Wakil of Biyapish, and had been given full control of the affairs of that province, so that nothing but the name of sovereignty remained to his master, by whom he was eventually put to death in 936 (1529-30). Sultān Ahmād Khān, after a visit to the court of Persia, gave up the Zaydī tenets for the Shi'a doctrine, and, on his return to Gilān, made the inhabitants follow his example. He died in 940 (1533-4), having reigned 30 years and 2 months. His son, Kārgiyā Sayyid 'Ali, was of a quiet and mild disposition, which alienated from him the military officers, who joined his brother, Kārgiyā Sultān Hasan. The latter seized Kārgiyā Sayyid 'Ali and put him to death in 941

(1534-5). The new ruler died of plague in 943 (1536-7) whilst on an expedition to Biyapas.

Kārgiyā Sultān Hasan left a son a year old named Khān Ahmād Khān; Shāh Tahmāsp profited by this circumstance to appoint a prince of the royal family governor of Biyapish. Khān Ahmād Khān's rights, however, were soon recognized, and he extended his rule to Biyapas, but, by refusing to obey the royal mandates, he incurred the Shāh's wrath, and was obliged to seek refuge in the mountains of Ashkawar, where, after many months of wandering, he was surprised, and interned first in the castle of Qahqaha, and, later, in that of Iṣṭakhr in Fārs, where he remained for twelve years, until the accession of Sultān Muhammad Khudābanda. In 984 (1576-7) he was released, married a daughter of Shāh Tahmāsp, and returned to Gilān. During the war between Turkey and Persia he offered to surrender Lāhijān to the Turks, and invited the Sultan to send troops from Shirwān to Lāhijān, whence it was but a short distance to Qazwin. After the conclusion of peace with Turkey, Shāh 'Abbās summoned his vassal to appear at his Court, but this Khān Ahmād Khān refused to do. The Shāh, thereupon, invaded Gilān at the head of a large army, and Khān Ahmād Khān sailed in Shawwāl, 1000 (July-August, 1592), for Shirwān, whence he fled to Constantinople, and remained there until his death.

The Shāh then appointed a governor of Biyapish to reside at Lāhijān, and a governor of Biyapas to reside at Fūman. I am unable to say when the whole of Gilān was entrusted for the first time to a governor residing at Rasht, but this was probably towards the end of the reign of Nādir.

Gmelin, who was in Gilān in 1772, mentions that it was only seven years since Lāhijān had submitted to the authority of Hidāyat Khān of Fūman. A few years prior to his visit the *nā'ib* of Lāhijān, summoned to Rasht by

Hidāyat Khān, was shot on the road. Karim Khān-i-Zand, on hearing of this, sent strict orders for the apprehension of the assassin, but the latter was never found, and Karim Khān imposed a yearly contribution of 500 *mans* of silk on Gilān so that the crime should not remain unpunished. It was generally believed that Hidāyat Khān had instigated the murder of the *nā'ib*, as he had doubts of his fidelity. This *nā'ib* is said to have been Āqā Ma'sūm, Sāhib Ikhtiyār, whose sister had married Hidāyat Khān. Āqā Ma'sūm left a son, Mirzā Sādiq, and his great-grandchildren, Mirzā Sādiq, Mirzā Muhammad 'Ali, and Mirzā 'Abdu'r-Rahīm, sons of Hājjī Abū Tālib ibn Sādiq, are now in Lāhijān.

The last hereditary governor of Lāhijān was Mirzā Ahmad Khān, Sālār-i-Mu'ayyad (dismissed by the Nationalist Government in 1907), ibn Mirzā Husayn Khān, Mu'azzamu's-Salṭana ibn Hājjī Mirzā Muhammād 'Ali Khān Amin-i-Diwān ibn Mirzā Kāzīm (who died in 1842) ibn Hājjī Abū'l-Qāsim (brother of 'Ali Akbar Khān, who was governor in 1831 and built the Akbariyya mosque) ibn Hājjī Sādiq (presumably a brother of Āqā Ma'sūm, Sāhib Ikhtiyār) ibn Hājjī Mahdī ibn Hājjī Mirzā ibn Hājjī Hasan.

FUMAN

Fūman lies west-south-west of Rasht. It is mostly in the plain, with only a few mountains belonging to it to the south-east. It is bounded on the north by Gaskar, the Murdāb, and Tūlam; on the east by Shaft and the Pasi Khān River; on the south by Pusht-i-Kūh-i-Tāruūn and the mountains of Shaft and of Māsūla; and on the west by Māsāl. Its greatest length, from north to south, is about 24 miles, and its width, from east to west, about 16 miles.

The following is the description of Fūman given in the *Masāliku'l-Abṣār fi Mamālikī'l-Amṣār*: "Le souverain de Foumen, seul entre tous les princes de Djil, suit les

dogmes de Schafei, car les rois de cette province sont élevés dans les principes de cette secte. Les troupes qu'il a sur pied montent à plus de 1,000 cavaliers. Lui et le souverain de Lahidjan règnent sur un territoire de peu d'étendue. La plus grande partie de leur revenu provient du commerce. La soie s'y recueille en abondance ; aussi les Tatars entretiennent avec les deux princes des relations d'amitié et d'alliance, afin que les marchands puissent entrer librement dans les deux provinces, et en exporter la soie : de leur côté, ces princes ont besoin des droits qu'ils lèvent sur ceux qui viennent faire le commerce dans leurs états.

“ Les autres province de la contrée de Djil ont besoin de celles de Foumen et de Lahidjan pour le même objet ; mais surtout de celle de Foumen, où l'on trouve des étoffes et autres articles manufacturés. Dans le même territoire, au voisinage des montagnes, est une mine de fer.

“ Le prince de Foumen prétend être allié à la famille du Prophète. Il protège avec zèle les gens de lettres et tous les hommes de mérite. Le costume des rois et des gens de guerre ressemble à celui d'une partie des Tatars. Celui des hommes de lettres à de l'analogie avec celui des marchands. Les uns et les autres laissent, comme les Sofis, pendre par devant les bouts de leurs turbans. Toute la masse du peuple est vêtue comme le peuple des nations voisines.”

Fūman was the seat of Dābū son of Gil Gāwbāra. Nothing is known of the rulers of Fūman before the time of Sultān Shāh Gil. He gave refuge to 'Alā'u'd-Dawla, son of Shāh Ghāzi Rustam of Māzandarān [whom he succeeded in 558 (1163)], when 'Alā'u'd-Dawla was defeated by the Ustundār Kay-kā'ūs, against whom he had been sent by his father. Iskandar Munshi mentions that the Is-hāqī dynasty of Fūman claimed descent from the prophet Is-hāq. Rashīdu'd-Dīn Fazlū'llāh, however, asserts that they are descended from Sāsān.

The genealogical tree of Amira Dubbāj, who was reigning in Fūman when the Amir Kiyā'i Sayyids seized the government of Lāhijān, is as follows: Dubbāj ibn 'Alā'u'd-Din ibn Rustam ibn Dubbāj (who at the time of the Mongol invasion opposed Qutlugh Shāh and after the latter's death was defeated by the other Mongol chiefs and compelled to submit to Uljāytū; he is described as the most influential amongst the numerous rulers of Gilān) ibn Filān Shāh ibn Rustam ibn Dubbāj ibn Khilū ibn Sharafu'd - Dawla ibn Sultān Shāh ibn Dubbāj ibn Arkān ibn Jayhūn ibn Fanākhusrāw ibn Abi'n-naṣr ibn Is-hāq (whence the dynasty derives its name of Saḥāqī, Is-hāqī, or Is-hāqwānd) ibn Salm ibn Qābūs ibn Īraj ibn Ḥabash ibn Shahriyār ibn Firūz ibn Balāsh ibn Bahrām ibn Balāsh ibn Ardashīr ibn Firūz ibn Narsī ibn Gūdarz ibn Balāsh ibn Bahrām ibn Shāpūr ibn Ašk, the founder of the Ashkāniān (Parthian) dynasty. This genealogical tree slightly differs from that given in the Durratu't-Tāj li ghurreti Dubbāj. Its author Quṭbu'd-Din Maḥmūd ibn Mas'ūd Shirāzī mentions that Ḥabash, grandfather of Arkān ibn Dubbāj, was the son of Balāsh ibn Narsī ibn Hurmuz ibn Ardashīr ibn Firūz ibn Narsī ibn Gūdarz ibn Vīhan ibn Balāsh ibn Bahrām ibn Shāpūr ibn Ašk.

The dominions of Amira Dubbāj, ruler of Fūman towards 766 (1364-5), included Māsūla, Fūman, and Tūlam. He helped the other Amirs of Biyapas to expel the Amir Kiyā'i Sayyids from Gilān, and his troops defeated and slew Sayyid 'Ali at Rasht, in Ramazān, 791 (August-September, 1389). Five or six months later, he quarrelled with Amira Muhammad Rashti, and invited the Sayyids to take possession of Biyapish. He died about 812 (1409-10) and was succeeded by his son, 'Alā'u'd-Din. Amira Dubbāj, the latter's son, ascended the throne in 837 (1433-4). His son and successor, 'Alā'u'd-Din, died in 844 (1440-1) on his return from an expedition against

Biyapish. Amira Dubbāj ibn 'Alā'u'd-Din followed and after him his son, 'Alā'u'd-Din. For the space of two years, however, Amira Husāmu'd-Din, cousin of 'Alā'u'd-Din, had possession of Fūman; he died in Tārun. Meanwhile Amira 'Alā'u'd-Din, out of fear of Amira Muḥammad Tijāspī Rashtī, was hiding in the mountains. He re-ascended the throne in Jumāda ii, 863 (May, 1459), and after some time put Amira Muḥammad Tijāspī to death and annexed Rasht. He died about 880 (1475–6). His eldest son, Amira Dubbāj, refused to ascend the throne, and the people tendered their allegiance to another Amira Dubbāj, son of that Amira Husāmu'd-Din, who, as already mentioned, had ruled over Fūman for two years. With the help of Sultān Muḥammad of Biyapish, Amira Is-hāq, the younger son of the late ruler, rendered himself master of Fūman in 882 (1477–8). He subsequently quarrelled with Mirzā 'Ali, son and successor of Sultān Muḥammad of Biyapish, and this led to much bloodshed. At length peace was signed and Kūchisfahān ceded to Amira Is-hāq, who died three months later. His eldest son, 'Alā'u'd-Din, was assassinated soon afterwards, and the second son, Amira Husāmu'd-Din, succeeded him. He was as bitter an enemy of the rulers of Biyapish as his father had been and refused to accede to the wishes of Shāh Isma'il I Ṣafawī, who had sent envoys to request him to make peace with Sultān Aḥmad Khān. The Shāh, angered at this refusal, came with his army to Gilān, but relented, and it was arranged through Shaykh Najm Rashtī, who was Amiru'l-Umarā of the Shāh's court, that Amira Husāmu'd-Din should receive Kūchisfahān as the price of peace. Sultān Aḥmad Khān of Biyapish refused to surrender that district and Husāmu'd-Din advanced to the Pūlirūd, sacking Lāhijān, Rānikūh, and Rūdisar on the way. In 917 (1511–12) he again incurred the Shāh's displeasure, but sent his wife and child to court to intercede for him. In 920 (1514)

Shāh Isma'il decided to march a second time upon Gilān and bring this unruly vassal to order, but the war that broke out with Sultān Selim of Turkey compelled him to postpone the execution of this project. Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn died about 922 (1516) and was succeeded by his son Amīra Dubbāj, who proceeded to the Shāh's court to make his submission. He was given the title of Muẓaffar Sultān and received the hand of one of the Shāh's daughters in marriage. When Sultān Sulaymān of Turkey invaded Persia, Muẓaffar Sultān joined him at Khūy with 8,000 men. On his return to Gilān Muẓaffar Sultān found the way barred by his former vassal, Amīra Hātim Kūhdumi. He fled to Shirwān, where he was seized by the Shāh's officers and brought to Tabriz. There he was placed in a cage and set on fire; this happened in 942 (1535-6). Biyapas was then entrusted to Khān Alīmad Khān of Biyapish, who, however, was unable to establish his authority over the district, and a certain Amīra Shāhrukh, related to the Is-hāqī dynasty, was invited by the inhabitants in 950 (1543-4) to rule over Fūman. He governed peacefully for seven years and was then summoned to the court of Shāh Tahmāsp. Unable to offer the presents claimed by the officers of the court he left without permission for Gilān. He was brought back to Tabriz and put to death by order of the Shāh.

In 965 (1557) Shāh Tahmāsp gave Biyapas to Sultān Maḥmūd, son of Muẓaffar Sultān, and appointed Kārgiyā Sultān Alīmad regent and guardian of the prince. Five years later the regent fell into disgrace, and, by order of the Shāh, Maḥmūd Khān was brought to Shiraz, where he was poisoned by his tutor at the instigation of Khān Alīmad Khān. His posthumous son, Jamshid Khān, a lad 10 years of age, was given Biyapas in 975 (1567-8), and Kārgiyā Alīmad Sultān was named regent and appointed his guardian. In 977 (1569-70) Jamshid Sultān married

a daughter of Shāh Tahmāsp and in 980 (1572-3) transferred his capital from Fūman to Rasht. He was put to death in 989 (1581-2) by his Prime Minister, Kāmrān Mirzā Kūhdumī, who had succeeded Kārgiyā Ahmad Sultān. Kāmrān Mirzā remained for some time ruler of Biyapas, but was eventually slain, and the two sons of Jamshid Sultān, Ibrāhim Khān and Muḥammad Amin Khān, bid in turn for the rule of their hereditary possessions. Ibrāhim Khān was at first supported by Khān Aḥmad Khān of Biyapish, who, however, abandoned his cause for that of Muḥammad Amin Khān. Shāh Malik Fūmani, whom Khān Aḥmad Khān appointed guardian of the latter, brought eastern Biyapas up to the Pasi Khān River under the rule of the young prince, but, two years later, in 999 (1590-1), 'Ali Beg Sultān, guardian of Ibrāhim Khān, who was at Fūman, expelled Muḥammad Amin Khān from Khushkbijār, where the latter resided, and compelled him to retire to Lashtanishāh. Finally, when in 1000 (1591-2) Khān Aḥmad Khān fled from Gilān to Constantinople, he took with him Muḥammad Amin Khān, who died of smallpox at Ganja.

Shāh 'Abbās sent Ibrāhim Khān to Kirmān, and thus came to an end the rule of the Is-hāqiyya dynasty of Fūman. After the rebellion of Shāh Malik in Biyapas in 1002 (1593-4) the Shāh summoned Ibrāhim Khān from Kirmān with the intention of appointing him governor of Biyapas. He was, however, dissuaded from doing this, and Ibrāhim died of grief at Isfahān.

At the death of Shāh 'Abbās and on the accession of Shāh Ṣafī, the natives of Lashtanishāh revolted, in 1038 (1628-9) elected king of the province a certain Kālānjār Sultān, who claimed to be a son of Jamshid Sultān, and proclaimed him ruler under the title of 'Ādil Shāh. His followers sacked Fūman and Rasht, but Qālānjār, or Gharib Shāh, as he was nicknamed by the Qizilbāsh, was taken prisoner by the royal troops after a fruitless defence

and carried to Qazwin, where he suffered a very remarkable death. The Shāh, with his customary cruelty and in derision of his captive, ordered iron horse-shoes to be nailed to his feet, alleging that as he had been used to the soft rich soil of Gilān, he could not walk unshod on the harder earth of Irāq. After lingering some days in this torture, Kālānjār was shot to death with arrows, the Shāh discharging the first, and his courtiers following his example.

There is no more remarkable instance of the fierce feuds prevalent in olden times than that which existed between the chiefs of Shaft and those of Fūman. "In the time of Shāh Sultān Husayn, Kāzim Khān Shafti slew Āqā Kamāl (Fūmani), governor of Rasht; his son, Āqā Jamāl (connected on his mother's side with the Is-hāqi dynasty), slew Karim, the son of Kāzim. Rafī' Āqā, the brother of Kāzim, slew Āqā Jamāl (1753-4)¹ and revenged his nephew. Hidāyat Khān, the son of Āqā Jamāl, slew Rafī' Āqā and five of his brothers and nephews; a child, called Āqā 'Ali, the son of Kāzim, was the only person of the family of Shaft that was preserved. Hidāyat Khan, desiring to employ the tribe of Shaft, was compelled to put this child at their head, as they refused to serve except under one of the blood of their chiefs. Āqā 'Ali made his escape, and when he attained his sixteenth year was aided by Āqā Muḥammad Khān in an attempt to revenge his father, uncle, and brothers. He succeeded in taking Hidāyat Khān, whom he slew.² Two of that chief's sons, Husayn 'Ali and Fath 'Ali, were sent to the Persian Court, and when Fath 'Ali

¹ Gmelin says that Hājjī [Rafī' Āqā of] Shaft slew Hājjī Jamāl in 1167 (1753-4) in Shaft, and afterwards, together with Mirzā Zākī of Gaskar, ruled over Gilān. Four months later Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Qājār suddenly arrived in Gilān, put them both to death, and entrusted Gilān to Hājjī Taqī Nā'ib, of Kasmā, whom he appointed guardian and deputy of Hidāyat Khān, the son of Hājjī Jamāl, then too young to rule.

² Hidāyat Khān was shot when trying to escape by boat from Anzal to Lankurān.

Shāh obtained the throne he gave the former a small force to reconquer Gilān. This chief ordered two of his men to conceal themselves in a wood and assassinate Āqā 'Ali; they did so (near the bridge of Khaṭibān on the 26th Rabi' i, 1212 = September 18, 1797 A.D.), and the relations of that chief, alarmed at his fate, fled to the island of Lankurān, and claimed the protection of Muṣṭafā Khān Tālīsh. Fathī 'Alī Shāh invited them to return to their family possessions of Shaft. On his sending a sealed Qur'ān, as the most sacred of pledges, they came back, but they thought of nothing but revenge; day and night they watched the movements of Husayn 'Alī; at last one of the brothers of Āqā 'Alī succeeded in shooting him (10th Safar, 1215 = July 3, 1800 A.D.)¹ as he was riding along the road. On the death of Husayn 'Alī, his brother, Fathī 'Alī, fled to Tabriz, where he became Begler-Begī. Husayn 'Alī left an infant grandson, but none of the descendants of Hidāyatūllāh Khān proved themselves worthy of their family traditions,"² and the feud, which in 1810 had continued about seventy years, was allowed to lapse.

At the death of Husayn 'Alī Khān, Fathī 'Alī Shāh had the *farmān* of governor of Fūman made in the name of Hidāyatūllāh Khān (also known as Khānlar-Khān), the former governor's infant son, and Hājjī Muḥammad Khān³ was appointed deputy governor. Hājjī Muḥammad Khān soon won the affection of the inhabitants and became governor. Hājjī Ma'sūm Khān, his son, was appointed

¹ Another version is that he was shot near the Dūpurdān bridge at Lālam in Gaskar by a notable of that district with whose wife he had had an intrigue. Colonel Trézel mentions that the inhabitants of Gaskar refused to submit to a governor who was not of their tribe. A governor was appointed by Fathī 'Alī Shāh, but was shot on the Gaskar border when trying forcibly to enter that district. The date of this incident is the same as that of the death of Husayn 'Alī, who very probably was the governor in question.

² Sir John Malcolm, *History of Persia*.

³ His father, Āqā Mohsin Fūmani, was governor of Fūman in 1212 (1797-8). Some authors describe Āqā Muhsin as the son of a Khalkhālī named Kas Ākhūnd, others as a descendant of Amira Dubbāj.

governor of Fūman at the beginning of the reign of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh. He was waylaid on the way from Rasht to Fūman by Ḥasan Khān ibn Hidāyatullāh Khān, who was shot in the affray. On the 1st Ramaḍān, 1265 (July 29, 1848), Ḥājjī Ma'sūm Khān was shot from without whilst sitting in an upper room of his house on the Sabz Maydān (Commons) of Rasht. His nephew, Rizā-quli Khān ibn Nāṣir, whose mother was a sister of Ḥasan Khān, was immediately accused of the deed. By order of the Prime Minister, Amir Nizām, he was handed over to the relatives of the murdered Khān, who hacked him to pieces with their *qamas* (daggers) on the 13th Ramaḍān of the following year (July 23, 1850).

The next governor of Fūman, Ḥājjī Qāsim Khān¹ ibn Ḥājjī Muḥammad Khān, was succeeded by his son, Maḥmūd Khān Sartip, Mudiru's-Sufarā, father of 'Abdu'l-Ḥusayn Khān, Mudiru'l-Mulk, better known under the title of Sardār-i-Humāyūn. The Sardār-i-Humāyūn died in 1912 after having ruled Fūman for close on twenty years.

H. L. RABINO.

THE DIWANS OF AN-NU'MAN IBN BASHIR AND BAKR IBN 'ABD AL-'AZIZ AL-'IJLI

Early in 1914 I obtained from Constantinople, through the kind offices of Dr. O. Rescher, photographs of the unique manuscript Sultān Fātiḥ, No. 5303, which contains, in addition to the Dīwāns referred to in the title, those of 'Amr b. Qamī'a, 'Amr b. Kulthūm, al-Hārith b. Ḫilliza, two poems of Muzāḥim al-'Uqaili, and poems of several other little-known ancient Arabic poets. The poems of Muzāḥim, together with verses of the same poet collected from various sources, I hope to publish at a later date. The above two Dīwāns are being printed in a lithographed edition in Haidarābād at the expense of Syed Ḥosein

¹ Qāsim Khān married a daughter of Fath 'Alī Khān and a daughter of Ḫusayn 'Alī Khān, so that his sons were descendants of Hidāyat Khān.

Rulers of Gilan: Rulers of Gaskar, Tul and Naw, Persian Talish, Tulam, Shaft, Rasht, Kuhdum, Kuchisfahan, Daylaman, Ranikuh, and Ashkawar, in Gilan, Persia

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Rulers of Gilan

RULERS OF GASKAR, TUL AND NAW, PERSIAN
TALISH, TULAM, SHAFT, RASHT, KUHDUM,
KUCHISFAHAN, DAYLAMAN, RANIKUH, AND
ASHKAWAR, IN GILAN, PERSIA

By H. L. RABINO

IN a former paper¹ I dealt with the rulers of Lāhijān and Fūman in Gilān, and now give an account of the remaining local dynasties and petty rulers of that province. The sources from which I have gathered my information have already been mentioned.

GASKAR

The former district of Gaskar comprised the present districts of Gaskar, Māsāl, Shandarmīn, and Tālīsh-Dūlāb. Its chief place was Dūlāb, which Muqaddasī describes as a fine place, its houses being well built of stone; the market was excellent, and a Friday mosque stood in it. It was also

¹ "Rulers of Lāhijān and Fūman, in Gilān, Persia." See JRAS., Jan. 1918, pp. 85-100. There is a mistake on p. 94 of this paper, l. 12; for Abu'n-naṣr ibn Is-hāq read Abu'n-naṣr ibn Fanākhusraw ibn Shujā' ibn Arkān ibn Fanākhusraw ibn Arkān ibn Dubbāj ibn Ḥabash ibn Khālū ibn Siristān ibn Is-hāq.

called Gaskar, and its ruins can still be seen in the forest of Haftdaqānān on the road from Tāhirgūrāb to Sayyid Sharaf Shāh. The author of *Masāliku'l-Absār fi Māmālikī'l-Amṣār* wrote : “ Le souverain de cette province est en hostilité avec celui de Taoulim. Ses troupes sont plus nombreuses que celles des autres provinces de Djil. Ses états sont plus vastes, le territoire est plus fertile, plus abondant en grain, en fruits, en bœufs, et en moutons. On y retire de grands avantages du voisinage des Curdes et des marchandises qu'ils y importent.”

In A.H. 706 (A.D. 1306-7), at the time of the Mongol invasion of Gilān, Amīr Chūbān was instructed to proceed to that province by way of Astarā and the shore of the Caspian. Amīra Sharafu'd-Dawla Shāramābī of Gaskar came forward to meet him with presents and entertained him in his own house.

In A.H. 789 (A.D. 1387) Amīra Sāsān was ruler of Gaskar. In A.H. 792 (A.D. 1390) he quarrelled with Amīra Dubbāj of Fūman because the latter had seized and cast into prison Amīra Muhammad of Rasht. Amīra Dubbāj advanced to Gūrāb-i-Gaskar, but was surprised and taken prisoner, and was only released on payment of 300 mans of silk and 100 kharwārs of Iskandarānī cotton goods. In A.H. 880 (A.D. 1475-6) Amīra Jahāngīr was wālī of Gaskar ; he was defeated and slain seven years later by a relative of his, Amīra Siyāhwūsh, who succeeded him. When Khān Alīmad Khān annexed Biyapas, his generals, Shīrzād Sultān and Mīr 'Abbās Sultān, marched to Gaskar, where they defeated and slew the wālī Amīra Jahāngīr. About A.H. 974 (A.D. 1566-7) Shāh Tahmāsp instructed Khān Alīmad Khān to surrender Gaskar to its hereditary chief, Amīra Sāsān. On Khān Alīmad Khān's refusal, the Shāh sent troops to Gaskar. Sipahsālār Sa'īd, who was governor on behalf of Khān Alīmad Khān, was slain, and Amīra Sāsān, known as Amīra-Sāsān-i-Buzurk, put in possession of his dominions. In A.H. 989 (A.D. 1581) the governor of Gaskar was Amīra Siyāhwūsh,

son of Amīra Sāsān. In A.H. 1000 (A.D. 1591-2) he accompanied the governor of Fūman, ‘Alī Khān, to the Shāh’s camp at Qizil Āghāch, and there, by order of Shāh ‘Abbās, was thrown into prison. He was a prisoner in Lāhijān two years later, when Farhād Khān was repressing the rebellion of ‘Alī Khān and of Amīra Muẓaffar of Gaskar, brother of Amīra Siyāhwūsh. Hearing that Amīra Siyāhwūsh was in correspondence with Amīra Muẓaffar, the Shāh, who was hunting in Biyapish, had him beheaded and his head tied to the branch of a tree in Gūrāb-i-Gaskar. Amīra Muẓaffar and the sons of Amīra Siyāhwūsh, Yūsuf, Muḥammad, and Salūk,¹ were soon captured by Farhād Khān and sent to the castle of Alamūt, where they were eventually put to death. Thus ended the rule of the wālīs of Gaskar.

Shāh ‘Abbās gave Gaskar to Dhū'l-fiqār Khān,² but in A.H. 1014 (A.D. 1605-6) it was taken from him and the revenues paid to the Treasury. In A.H. 1023 (A.D. 1614-15) a certain Bihbūd assassinated the crown prince Ṣafī Mirzā at Rasht by order of Shāh ‘Abbās, and was shortly afterwards appointed governor of Gaskar as a reward for his deed. In A.H. 1038 (A.D. 1628-9) Gūrgīn Sultān was governor, and in A.H. 1047 (A.D. 1638) Amīr Khān, a Georgian from Irāwān (Eriwan).

TUL AND NAW

At the time of Shāh Isma‘il’s flight from Ardabil to Gilān after the death of his brothers, he spent a few days in the house of Amīr Muẓaffar, wālī of Tūl and Nāw, who refused to surrender his guest to Rustam Beg, although pressed to do so by Jāgīr Beg Parnāk, governor of Khalkhāl and Tūl. Jannābī in A.H. 990 (A.D. 1582) mentions Amīr Ihamza ibn Shāh Muḥammad Khān-i-Buzurk, ruler of Tūl, and Shaykh Fazlu'llāh, ruler of Līsāra. These districts were not part of the former province of Gilān; Tūl and Līsāra are now part of Kargānrūd and Nāw of Asālam.

¹ I find also Ṣalūk, Sālūk, Ṣa'lūk, Sālūk, Sa'lūk.

² Brother of Farhād Khān.

PERSIAN TALISH

Persian Tālish consists of five districts known as Khamisa-i-Tawālīsh, which extend west and south-west to the Alburz Hills, and are bounded on the east by the Caspian and on the south by Māsūla, Gaskar, and the Murdāb. In the south-east part of Tālish is the small district of Māsāl, to the north-west of which is the equally small district of Shandarmīn ; to the north and east of this latter lies the large district of Tālish-Dūlāb, to the north of Tālish-Dūlāb is the small district of Asālam, and to the north again the great district of Kargānrūd.

With a view of weakening the family of Mīr Muṣṭafā Khān who held the whole country from a little westward of Kargānrūd all the way to Mughān, Fath ‘Alī Shāh distributed the whole of Persian Tālish among the principal families that remained, confirming to each such portion of country as it had become possessed of. He also created them Khāns by way of increasing their importance and giving them a motive for repressing the predatory incursions of Muṣṭafā Khān's family. Of these chiefs the most important at the time of Fraser's visit to Gilān (1822) were Bālā Khān of Kargānrūd, whose seat was at Āqevler ; Muḥammad Khān Asālamī, residing at Lunīr ; Muḥammad Qulī Khān Tālish-Dūlābī, who lived in the village of Pūnal ; Muḥammad Rizā Khān of Gaskar, who apparently had no successor ; Ibrāhīm Khān of Shandarmīn and Muḥammad Khān of Māsāl.

Kargānrūd.—Bālā Khān ibn ‘Alī ibn Gūna ibn Ibrāhīm ibn Gūna ibn Iḥusayn though his family was not originally of great importance,¹ was considered the principal chief of Tālish. His brother, Mīr Gūna Khān, was joined in authority with him by ‘Abbās Mirzā, to whose government the chiefs

¹ The descendants of Mīr Muṣṭafā Khān of Tālish assert that the ancestor of the present Khāns of Kargānrūd was Mīrākhār, or master of the horse, of Mīr Muṣṭafā Khān. The Khāns of Kargānrūd deny this and claim that their clan has ruled their district for over four centuries. They state that they resided in Ādhārbāyjān, a former town of Kargānrūd, and belong to the Ashik Harazūr, a clan of Armenian or Georgian origin.

of Kargānrud and Asālam were attached. By order of Fath 'Alī Shāh, Bālā Khān attacked Mīr Ḥasan Khān, a son of Mīr Muṣṭafā Khān, and sacked his house at Namīn. Mīr Hasan Khān made his submission to the Shāh and married one of the Shāh's daughters. Thereupon the Khāns of Kargānrud and Asālam, fearing that Mīr Ḥasan Khān would compass their downfall with the prince governor of Ādharbāyjān, petitioned the Shāh to separate their districts from Ādharbāyjān and add them to Gilān, a request which was granted.

The latter history of the Khāns of Kargānrud is one of murder, rapine, and oppression. Fratricide was common amongst them, and down to 50 years ago few of them died a natural death. In A.H. 1265 (A.D. 1848) Bālā Khān was killed by his nephew, and succeeded by his son Farāju'llāh Khān Sartīp. The latter also was murdered in A.H. 1282 (A.D. 1865) by his own brother. The murderer and four of his brothers were beheaded by order of the Shāh. Ḥabību'llāh Khān succeeded his father, Farāju'llāh Khān, and was succeeded two or three years later by his brother Nuṣratu'llāh Khān 'Amīdu's-Saltāna, who received later the title of Sardār-i-Amjad. The allegiance of the Khāns of Kargānrud to the governor-general of Gilān was mostly nominal. They managed to obtain the supremacy over the other khāns of Tālīsh, and when allowed a free hand were most exacting and oppressive in their relations with the Khāns of Asālam, Tālīsh-Dūlāb, Māsāl, and Shandarmīn. In 1907 the inhabitants of Kargānrud rose against their khāns, burnt their houses, pillaged their property, and turned them out of their district. It was only in 1912 that with the help of the Russians Arfa'u's-Saltāna, eldest son of Sardār-i-Amjad, was able to resume the government of his district.

Asālam.—Muhammad Khān ibn Aḥmad ibn Najaf ibn Kāzīm was succeeded by his nephew, Muṣṭafā Khān ibn Ḫusayn ibn Aḥmad. Like the Khāns in the other districts of Tālīsh, the Khāns of Asālam have ruined themselves in

outbidding one another for the post of governor. Lately the governorship was held alternately by Wali Khān Ashja'u'd Dawla ibn Alīmad Khān ibn Muḥammad Khān and his cousin Allahyār Khān Sartip ibn Najaf Khān ibn Muḥammad Khān.

Tālīsh-Dūlāb.—The history of the Khāns of Tālīsh-Dūlāb offers no special interest. The governor in 1912 was Nusratu'llāh Khān Zarghāmu's-Saltana ibn Amānu'llāh Khān ibn Ḫusayn Qulī Khān ibn 'Alī Qulī Khān (who was governor in 1865) ibn Muḥammad Qulī Khān.

Shandarmīn.—Until quite recently the governor of Shandarmīn was Naṣru'llāh Khān ibn Rahīm Khān ibn Naṣru'llāh Khān ibn Ibrāhīm Khān.

Māsāl.—Towards the beginning of the reign of Āqā Muḥammad Khān¹ a certain Muḥammad Wali of the Ashmad clan, a native of Khalkhāl, was chief of Māsāl and held the title of Sultān. He was put in prison by Hidāyatū'llāh Khān, who finally had him thrown into a well at Rasht and immediately covered with earth. Muḥammad Wali was succeeded by his son, Ḥājjī Muḥammad Khān, who did much to render his district prosperous. He never let his oxen on hire to outsiders, did the inhabitants of Māsāl need them for their own fields, but gave his own villagers the use of them at a low rate of hire. He forbade his subjects to wear imported apparel, and made them support home industries. He also refused to give his daughters in marriage to people of other districts, but insisted on his sons marrying outside Māsāl. In this way he prevented the revenues of Māsāl from being spent elsewhere than in Māsāl itself. J. B. Fraser wrote in 1822 that Muḥammad Khān "is chief of the tribe of Gaskar Tālīsh, who are very numerous and have the character of being the most desperate and cruel ruffians of this wild country. They pay little or nothing to government, but own a slight degree of obedience to the Prince of

¹ Shortly before the Qājār rule the chiefship of Māsāl was held by a family residing at Washmsarā, whose present representatives are Karbalā'i Asad Beg, Ḫusayn Qulī Beg, and Dādāsh Beg.

Gilān. It was said that Muḥammad Khān could muster several thousand men, all capital matchlockmen, fellows so careless about shedding blood that, to use the words of the *kad-khudā*, they would put a dozen men to death for two pence, and all these men are ready to perform the orders of their chief, as the clansmen of any Highland chief in Scotland ; but the Khān cannot venture to break their spirit or rouse their ill will by restraint, and rather encourages their savage propensities as rendering them fearless and fitter to perform the acts of plunder and rapine from which he derives much revenue.”

Hājjī Muḥammad Khān left five sons and seven daughters. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Mahdī, who was poisoned by his own brother, Kāzim Khān. The latter governed Māsāl for some time and amassed much property and cash. He was murdered in his sleep, and no proofs could be brought at the time as to who were the criminals. It is now practically acknowledged that the deed was perpetrated by Jawād Khān, the son of Mahdī Khān and Habibullāh Beg, who had married one of Mahdī Khān’s daughters. Hājjī Mullā Mirzā Hasan, brother-in-law of Mirzā ‘Abdu'l-Wahhāb Mustawfī of Rasht, had until a short time before this event been a fast friend of Hājjī Mullā Rafī‘ Sharī‘at Madār, the chief priest of Rasht, but had selected and joined the Tahwīldār’s party, which was plotting the Mujtahid’s ruin. He was sent by Mirzā ‘Abdu'l-Wahhāb to bring to Rasht all the money, jewels, etc., of the deceased Kāzim Khān in virtue of a will in favour of the Mustawfī, which was strongly suspected of being forged, and which had never been shown to the chief priest as it ought to have been. As the sum was considerable, and the Mujtahid expected to have his share of the spoil, he was indignant, and from that day a series of intrigues took place which terminated in a serious affray between the Haydarīs and Ni'matīs of Rasht (July 14-16, 1861) in which many lives were lost, 300 or 400 men wounded, women violated, houses burnt, and much money extorted under

threats of firing houses. Jawād Khān was sent in chains to Tīhrān by Mīrzā 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb, but through the influence of Hājjī Mullā Rassīf was soon released and given the governorship of Māsāl. He left a name for a wise and just ruler, but after his death the members of his family tried to outbid each other for the governorship. Amānu'llāh Khān, the son of Kāzīm Khān, succeeded Jawād Khān, but Nāṣir Qulī Khān outbid him, and the governorship was held alternatively by these two. At Nāṣir Qulī Khān's death, Mahdī Khān ibn Abbās Qulī Khān ibn Mahdī Khān took his place. The result of this has been to raise the taxes to such an extent that the people are almost desperate, whilst the Khāns have ruined themselves. The only individual justification for such a course can be found in the fact that the governor oppressed his kinsmen so severely that they felt it necessary to outbid him for the governorship, and so the matter has gone from bad to worse.

The Khāns of Māsāl are a numerous family, but there is no hereditary head. The governor during his tenure of office commands a little respect but no real loyalty.

TULAM

Tūlam lies to the north-west of Rasht, and is bordered on the north by the Lagoon, on the west and south by Fūman, and on the south-east and east by Mawāzī or the former district of Rasht.

In A.H. 706 (A.D. 1306-7) Uljāytū, having decided to subdue the rulers of Gilān, sent Qutlugh Shāh with a numerous army to enter that province by the Māsūla pass. The rulers of Fūman and Gaskar were defeated, but Rikābzān, ruler of Tūlam, came forward alone at the head of his army to oppose the invaders. Advancing as if to make his submission he slew Qutlugh Shāh and cut off his ears, which he carried away with the ear-rings. The Mongol army was surrounded, and the roads closed by abattis, so that but very few of Qutlugh Shāh's men escaped, the majority finding their death in the mud.

The author of the *Masāliku'l Absār fī Mamālikī'l Amsār*, who wrote some twenty-five years after these events, states that the ruler of Tūlam occupied a similar position to that of the ruler of Fūman, and that his district produced no silk. He kept an army of one thousand mounted troops, who had the reputation of being the bravest in Gilān. His success over the Mongols had obtained for him great consideration from and influence over his neighbours.

Already in A.H. 769 (A.D. 1367-8) Tūlam was part of the dominions of the ruler of Fūman, but we have no information as to how this happened.

SHAFT

The district of Shaft lies to the south-west of Rasht. It is partly mountain and partly plain, and is bordered on the north by the Warzal sub-district of Rasht, on the east by Rūdbār, on the south by Tārum, and on the west by Māsūla and Fūman. It is mentioned in the *Masāliku'l-Abṣār fī Mamālikī'l-Amṣār* as the birthplace of Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Qādir Gilānī, and its inhabitants were of the Hanbalī sect. Its ruler was amongst the eight kings of Gilān mentioned by the same author.

The former capital of Shaft was called Gūrāb-i-Shaft, and was situated near the present village of Naṣīr Maḥalla at a spot now called Gūrākīsh, on account of the thickets of box-trees under which the ruins of the small town lie hidden. The chief place of Shaft and the residence of its Khāns is Kumsar.

The Amīrs of Shaft seem to have been more or less dependent of those of Fūman. In A.H. 791 (A.D. 1389) Amīra Muḥammad Shaftī and the other Amīrs of Biyapas joined hands to oust the Amīr Kiyā'i Sayyids from Gilān. In A.H. 792 (A.D. 1390) Amīra Sāsān Shaftī, who was commander-in-chief of the army of Fūman, was defeated and slain at Gūrāb-i-Gaskar by the troops of Amīra Sāsān Gaskarī. In A.H. 882 (A.D. 1477-8) Amīra Sa'īd Shaftī refused to submit to Amīra Is-hāq Fūmanī, whereupon Sultān Muḥammad of Lāhijān, who at

that time had been placed in supreme authority over the whole of Gilān, sent troops to expel him and the government of Shaft was entrusted to Amīra Sāsān Shaftī. In A.H. 887 (A.D. 1482-3) Amīra Sa'īd Shaftī, to avenge the death of his father, Amīra Sa'īd, slew Amīra Salūk, the governor of Shaft, who was responsible for his death. Amīra Salūk was succeeded as governor by his brother. In A.H. 907 (A.D. 1501-2) the sons of Amīra Hind Shaftī conspired with Sipahsālār 'Abbās of Fūman to put Amīra 'Alā'u'd-Dīn of Fūman to death.

A century later 'Alī Khān, wazīr of Biyapas, appointed Hāidar Beg Lāhijānī *māzir* and *sipahsālār* of Shaft. The latter quarrelled with Hātim Beg Shaftī, who, when 'Alī Khān fell in disgrace, openly rebelled. On the return of 'Alī Khān to Gilān, Mīr Hātim sought refuge with Husayn Khān of Kūhdum. In A.H. 1003 (A.D. 1594-5) 'Alī Khān, having thrown off his allegiance, was tracked and taken prisoner by the troops of Farhād Khān, who appointed Amir Khāwand Shaftī commander-in-chief of the troops of Rasht, and Mīr Hātim commander-in-chief of Shaft. Mīr Hātim retained this post for seventeen years, until his death in A.H. 1020 (A.D. 1611-12). The post was then given to Mīr Farrukh, nephew of Mir Khāwand Shaftī and son-in-law of Mir Hātim. Seven years later Mir Farrukh died, and his brother was unable to secure the appointment for himself. Aslān Beg, the wazīr of Gilān, with the assistance of a certain Shams, confiscated the whole property of the two brothers, so that their families had to leave the country and remained destitute. Shams was then named *kalāntar* of Shaft, a post which he filled until his death.

I have already related¹ the feud that existed between the Khāns of Shaft and those of Fūman, and the bloodshed to which it led.

The Khāns of Shaft, according to some, originate from Sabzawār. Others say they belong to the Chigimī tribe of Qazwin. They are supposed to have acquired the land they

¹ Loc. cit., pp. 98-9.

originally required by a trick similar to that employed by Ḥasan Ṣabbāḥ. The inhabitants call their Khāns *Pigaz Musulmān* or “onion Mohammedans”, because, according to tradition, their ancestor Halūy was so surprised at seeing an onion growing on the thatched roof of a house, that he exclaimed, “Surely there is a God!” and forthwith embraced Islam.

RASHT

The former district of Rasht occupied the centre of the plain of Gilān and was bordered on the north by the Caspian and the Lagoon, on the west by Tūlām and Fūman, on the south by Shaft and Kūhdum, and on the east by the Sāfid Rūd and Kūchisfahān.

In A.H. 705 (A.D. 1306-7), at the time of the Mongol invasion of Gilān, the ruler of Rasht was Amīra Muḥammad, who is mentioned in the *Maṭla'u's-Sa'dayn* as the most important personage of that part of Gilān. Sixty years later another Amīra Muḥammad of the Tijāspī clan was ruling over that district. His son and successor, Amīra Falaku'd-Dīn, tried unsuccessfully to help the Isma'īlwand rulers of Kūchisfahān against Sayyid 'Alī Kiyā Malāṭī. He was defeated and Sayyid 'Alī annexed all the district which had belonged to Amīra Mas'ūd Isma'īlwand. Amīra Muḥammad ibn Falaku'd-Dīn in A.H. 785 (A.D. 1383-4) defeated Sayyid Nāṣir Kiyā, who was governor of Kūchisfahān, but made his peace with Sayyid 'Alī, ruler of Biyapīsh, the following year. In A.H. 791 (A.D. 1389) he joined the Amīrs of Fūman, Gaskar, Shaft, and Kūhdum in an attempt to oust the Amīr Kiyā'i Sayyids from Gilān. After the battle of Rasht and the death of Sayyid 'Alī Kiyā, he managed to incur the wrath of his ally Amīra Dubbāj, who seized him and cast him into prison. Amīra Dubbāj then sent to the Sayyids to return to Gilān. Amīra Muḥammad was liberated by Amīra Sāsān Gaskarī, and returned to Rasht, where he died shortly afterwards. His son, Amīra Falaku'd-Dīn, succeeded him. Amīra Muḥammad quarrelled with his father Amīra

Falaku'd-Dīn, who thereupon left on a pilgrimage to Mecca. On his return to Gilān he had to invoke the assistance of Sayyid Razī Kiyā of Biyapīsh to regain possession of his dominions. On Amīra 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Fūmanī advancing to the assistance of Amīra Muḥammad, Amīra Falaku'd-Dīn fled to Amīra Anūz of Kūhdūm, who, however, was compelled to surrender him to the Amīra of Fūman. Amīra Falaku'd-Dīn Rashtī was handed over by the latter to his son Amīra Muḥammad Rashtī, who immediately ordered him to be hanged. Amīra Muḥammad was a cruel tyrant, who, not satisfied with putting his father to death, did the same to two of his own sons, to his brother, and to his grandson Amīra Rustam ibn Sultān Muḥammad Fūmanī. In A.H. 863 (A.D. 1460) Sultān Muḥammad of Biyapīsh sent troops against him, and Amīra Muḥammad fled to Khumām, whence he sailed for Shīrvān.

By Sultān Muḥammad's instructions Tijāsp, a boy of 5 or 6 years of age, son of Amīra Muḥammad, was proclaimed ruler of Rasht, but two months later he was replaced by Shāh Yahyā, the brother of Sultān Muḥammad. Tijāsp was sent with his mother to Sijrān in Daylamān, where he died. Amīra Muḥammad returned to Rasht by way of the Mūrdāb, but he was compelled to seek refuge with Amīra 'Alā'u'd-Dīn of Fūman, by whose orders he was hanged. After this the district of Rasht was definitely annexed by the rulers of Fūman. Amīra Falaku'd-Dīn Tijāspī, a nephew, and Amīra Bahādur, a cousin, of the late Amīra Muḥammad, made an attempt to render themselves masters of Rasht, but they were defeated, and Amīra Falaku'd-Dīn died in prison in Fūman in A.H. 880 (A.D. 1475-6).

KŪHDŪM

Kūhdūm formed an independent principality and comprised the present subdistrict of Kūhdūm and the districts of Rūdbār (known formerly as Rūdbār-i-Kūhdūm) and Rahmatābād, or in other words the valley of the Sāfid Rūd from Gūka to

Manjil. The chief place was Gūrāb-i-Kūhdum, which was burnt in A.H. 880 (A.D. 1475-6) by the troops of Sultān Muḥammad of Biyapish.

Jalālu'd-Dīn Ḥasan, the chief of Alamūt, having to all appearances repudiated the doctrines of his sect, obtained from the caliph Nāṣir li Dīn'llāh permission to enter into matrimonial alliance with the chiefs of Gilān, and married four of their daughters. Of the daughter of Kay Kāwus, the ruler of Kūhdum, was born 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Muḥammad, who succeeded his father as grand master of the Assassins in Persia. We have no further information about the rulers of Kūhdum until the time of the Mongol conquest of Gilān in A.H. 706 (A.D. 1306-7), when the name of Sālār is mentioned. When Sayyid 'Alī Kiyā conquered Biyapish, Amīra Anūz, of the Anūzwand clan, was ruler of Kūhdum, which he lost to the Sayyid in A.H. 766 (A.D. 1364-5). He was treacherously put to death by Qubād, governor of Tārum. After the defeat of the Amīr Kiyā'i Sayyids at Rasht in A.H. 789 (A.D. 1387) and their retreat to Tunakābun, Amīra Sālār, son of Amīra Anūz, was reinstated in his hereditary possessions by the Amīrs of Biyapas. Amīra Anūz ibn Amīra Sālār died in A.H. 834 (A.D. 1430-1), and was succeeded by his son Bahā'u'd-Dīn Sālār. In A.H. 847 (A.D. 1443) Amīra Nūh¹ Pāshā was wālī of Kūhdum. Some twenty-five years later Amīra 'Alā'u'd-Dīn expelled from Kūhdum Amīra Rustam, a tyrannical ruler given to wine and debauchery, who was constantly making incursions into Fūman and Rasht. By order of Ḥasan Beg, Kūhdum was handed over to Amīra Sālār, eldest son of Amīra Rustam, the latter being detained at the court at Tabrīz. At Sultān Ḥasan Beg's death in A.H. 882 (A.D. 1477-8), Amīra Rustam tried to obtain possession of Kūhdum, but he was defeated by the united forces of Sultān Muḥammad of Lāhijān and Amīra Is-hāq of Fūman. Again, in A.H. 887 (A.D. 1482), with the help of the troops he had obtained from Pādishāh Ya'qūb, he tried unsuccessfully

¹ I find also Nūh and Nū or Naw.

to recover his lost possessions, and Kūhdum and Jasijān were divided between Mīrzā ‘Alī of Lāhijān and Amīra Is-hāq of Fūman. In A.H. 908 (A.D. 1502-3) Mīrzā ‘Alī reinstated the son of Amīra Rustam in his hereditary possessions, but the latter was soon obliged to surrender them to Amīra Is-hāq.

In A.H. 920 (A.D. 1514-15) Amīra Shāwashāh, son of Amīra Rustam, was governor of Jasijān and Ralimatābād.

About A.H. 938 (A.D. 1531-2) Muzaffar Sultān of Fūman, who with 8,000 men of Biyapas had joined Sultān Sulaymān of Turkey at Khūy, was attacked on his way back to Gilān by his vassal Mīr Hātim of Kūhdum. Muzaffar Sultān fled to Shīrvān, and Amīra Hātim took the title of Shāh Hātim and had the *khuṭba* read in his name. He also made use of the *tughra* on *farmāns* and of a large seal as was the custom with ruling princes. He annexed the whole of Biyapas, and married two wives of Muzaffar Sultān. He was soon afterwards defeated by Sipahsālār Rustam Fūmani, taken prisoner, and sent to Shāh Tahmāsp, who released him later and gave him a pension.

After the capture of Shāh Hātim and of Muzaffar Sultān, Sultān Muḥammad of Kūhdum, who claimed to be a kinsman of Muzaffar Sultān, entered Rasht and re-established order again. But in A.H. 945 (A.D. 1538-9) he was attacked by order of the court of Persia by Khān Alīmad Khān of Biyapīsh, and defeated near the Siyāh-Rūdbār river of Rasht, and slain together with his son Amīra Shāhinshāh.

About the year A.H. 985 (A.D. 1577-8) Kāmrān Mīrzā of Kūhdum was appointed by Jamshid Khān wazir of Biyapas. Unfaithful to his salt, he planned his master's death, and was appointed regent of Biyapas by Shāh Sultān Muḥammad Khudābanda. He now desired to get rid of the sons of Jamshid Khān, but many of his adherents thereupon turned against him and defeated him at Rasht. He still maintained himself for some time in Biyapas, but was finally slain near Kūchisfahān, and his skull was, by order of Khān Alīmad Khān of Biyapish, made into a drinking-cup.

In A.H. 996 (A.D. 1588) Husayn Khān Kūhdumī, governor of Kūhdum, resided at Pildih-Rūdbār. In A.H. 1003 (A.D. 1594-5), for his services in helping the Shāh's troops to capture the rebel Tālīshkulī, he was given in *tuyāl*, in addition to his other possessions, Nanak and Bijārpas, described as two large districts of Rasht. Three years later we hear of Husayn Khān capturing in the forest of Qal'a-Rūdkhān and putting to death his cousins, Amīra Shāhrukh and Kāmyāb, the sons of Amīra Sālār, who in dread of their uncle had joined 'Alī Khān of Biyapas, from whom they received the villages of Azbar and Khusrawābād.

In A.H. 1038 (A.D. 1628-9) at the time of the rebellion of Gharīb Shāh, the governor of Kūhdum was Muhammadi Khān.

KUCHISFAHĀN

Kūchisfahān, which included Lashtanishāh, Khushkbijār, and the north-eastern part of the present district of Mawāzī, was at the time of Uljāytū's conquest of Gilān ravaged by the Mongol troops until its ruler Salūk, well known for his courage, was compelled to make his submission. Its last ruler of the Isma'īwand clan was Amīra Mas'ūd ibn Nūh Pāshā ibn Salūk, whose father died in A.H. 768 (A.D. 1366-7), and who himself was soon afterwards expelled from his dominions by Sayyid 'Alī Kiyā. Kūchisfahān then passed under the rule of the Sayyids of Lāhijān, and later was a great bone of contention between the rulers of Fūman and those of Lāhijān.

DAYLAMAN

For over two centuries, from A.H. 210 to about 450 (A.D. 825-1058), Daylam was under the rule of the Jastānān dynasty. It then gradually fell under the sway of the Assassins, but was occasionally wrested from their hands by the Ustundārs of Rustamidār.

Wahsūdān ibn al-Marzubān is said to have been the first king of his dynasty in Gilān. He resided at Shahristān, known as Kursī-i-Daylam, in the upper Shāhrūd valley in

A.H. 251 (A.D. 865), and is said to have reigned forty years. He first joined Ḥasan ibn Zayd against the caliph's governor of Māzandarān, Sulaymān ibn 'Abdu'llāh, but abandoned his cause and died a few days later. He was succeeded by his son, Jastān, a man of fickle disposition, who constantly changed religion and allegiance. He was at times fire-worshipper and at others Mohammedan, and when after many battles he got reconciled to Sayyid Ḥasan ibn 'Alī, the latter said some biting verses on the occasion. In A.H. 306 (A.D. 918-19) 'Alī ibn Wahsūdān rose against his brother Jastān and put him to death, but Muḥammad ibn Muẓaffar, Jastān's father-in-law, rebelled against him and slew him.

Khusraw Firūz succeeded his brother and made war with Muḥammad ibn Muẓaffar. Khusraw Firūz's son Mahdi succeeded his father, but was turned out of his dominions by Muḥammad ibn Muẓaffar. He sought refuge with Asfār ibn Shīrūya, who, however, was afraid to befriend him. Later Asfār took Qazwīn and instructed his general, Mardāwīj ibn Ziyār, to besiege Muḥammad ibn Muẓaffar. At the latter's instigation, Mardāwīj rebelled against Asfār, and became ruler of Qazwīn, Abhar, Jurjān, and Tabaristān.¹

Later we hear of Jastān ibn Sālār, together with his brothers, Ibrāhīm and Nāṣir, who succeeded their father, Sālār ibn al-Marzubān,² in A.H. 346 (A.D. 957). This al-Marzubān was brother of a certain Wahsūdān.

On a coin struck at Rūdbār in A.H. 363 (A.D. 974) we find the name Khusraw Shāh ibn Mubādil or Muqātil. In ibnū'l-Athīr we find mention of Surkhāb ibn Wahsūdān.

¹ In A.H. 331 (A.D. 943) Ḥasan b. Firūzān took refuge with a certain Mazyār ben Jastān.

² Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān I'timādu's-Salṭana mentions this Sālār al-Marzubān as a son of Muḥammad ibn Muẓaffar, and gives the following dates of the rule of the members of this family: Muḥammad ibn Muẓaffar A.H. 330 (A.D. 941-2), Sālār al-Marzubān A.H. 330-46 (A.D. 941-2-957-8), Jastān ibn Sālār A.H. 346-9 (A.D. 957-8-960-1), Wahsūdān A.H. 349 ? (A.D. 960-1-?), Jastān A.H. 430 (A.D. 1038-9), Abū Mansur Wahsūdān A.H. 457 (A.D. 1065). With Abū Mansūr the rule of this dynasty came to an end. It was known as the Sālāriyya dynasty and was wiped out by the Saljūqs.

Nāṣir Khusraw, who travelled from A.H. 437 to 444 (A.D. 1045-52), relates that the ruler or Amīr of Gilān assumed in documents the titles of Marzubān of Daylam and Jil Jilān, Abū Ṣāliḥ, Mawlā Amīr u'l-Mūminīn, and that his name was Jastān (ibn) Ibrāhīm.

The first lord of the castle of Samīrān, in Tārum, also called Qal'a-Sālār, was Muḥammad ibn Muẓaffar. In A.H. 379 (A.D. 989-90) Nūḥ, the son of Wahsūdān, the last chief of Samīrān, was a child under the guardianship of his mother. Fakhru'd-Dawla the Buwayhid obtained possession of the castle by marrying her. In the letter addressed by the wazīr Ṣālib (Isma'il ibn 'Abbād) to Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Alīmad, shortly before the cession of the castle, the wazīr mentions that the family of Kankar, "Āl-i-Kankar," were only able to maintain their authority over Daylam through their possession of this castle. Their ambition led them to join to this important acquisition the estates of Wahsūdān, who had been reigning forty years in Daylam. This king, seeing that Samīrān was the sister of Alamūt, agreed to this annexation, and concluded an alliance with them. This clever combination gave the family of Kankar the supremacy in the whole of Daylam, and reduced the dynasty of Wahsūdān to the strict possession of Lāhijān.

The Assassins, whose principal stronghold was the castle of Alamūt in the upper Shāhrūd valley, either through matrimonial alliances or by the force of arms extended their authority over south-eastern Gilān. Kiya Buzurk Ummid conquered Gilān, the governor of which, Abū'l-Hāshim, he made prisoner and put to death. In A.H. 590 (A.D. 1194) the Assassins obtained from the Ustundār Hazārasp ibn Shahrnūsh, who had rebelled against Shāh Ardashīr of Māzandarān and entered into an alliance with them, the whole territory between Malāṭ and Sakhtsar. It is generally believed that the fall of the castle of Alamūt in A.H. 654 (A.D. 1256) marks the end of the Isma'ili influence in Gilān. This is a great mistake. Either the destruction of Alamūt cannot have been

as complete as reported by the Persian writers, or the castle was rebuilt. Already, in A.H. 674 (A.D. 1275-6), the Assassins were again in possession of it, and Abāqā Khān sent troops to besiege the castle which was completely destroyed.

Desiring to compel Kiyā Malak Hazāraspī of Ashkawar to submit to him, Sayyid 'Alī ibn Amīr Kiyā made a covenant with Khudāwand Muḥammad the Mulljīd or Assassin, a descendant of 'Alā'u'd-Dīn. This Khudāwand Muḥammad had supporters in Daylamān, Rūdbār (of Qazwīn), Pādīz, Kūshayjān, and amongst the people of Ashkawar. He outwardly abjured the Isma'īlī tenets, and was promised Daylamān for his aid. After the defeat of Kiyā Malak in A.H. 776 (A.D. 1374-5) Sayyid 'Alī Kiyā ignored the promises he had made, and gave Daylamān to his own brother, Sayyid Mahdī. Collecting the Mulljīds of Alamūt and Lamsar, Khudāwand Muḥammad joined Kiyā Malak, and together they defeated and captured Sayyid Mahdī, whom they sent to the court of Persia in Tabrīz. Kiyā Malak was reinstated as ruler of Ashkawar, and Khudāwand Muḥammad occupied Alamūt. A year later Sayyid 'Alī Kiyā's troops invested the castle of Alamūt, and Khudāwand Muḥammad, being short of provisions, surrendered the castle and fled to the court of Timūr. He was sent to reside at Sultāniyya, where his descendants were still living towards the end of the ninth century of the *Hijra* (fifteenth century). After the defeat and death of Sayyid 'Alī Kiyā at Rasht in A.H. 791 (A.D. 1389), Khudāwand Muḥammad returned to Alamūt, and with the help of his co-religionists rendered himself master of the castle, which, however, he was compelled shortly afterwards to surrender to Malak Kayumarz of Rustamdār. A year later the castle passed into the hands of the rulers of Lāhijān. In A.H. 819 (A.D. 1416-7) Sayyid Razi Kiyā, wālī of Lāhijān, ordered his Gilān troops to massacre the auxiliary troops from Daylam which were serving with them. Amongst them were two or three grandsons of 'Alā'u'd-Dīn, and with them ends the history of the Assassins in Gilān.

After the fall of Alamūt in A.H. 645 (A.D. 1256), Daylam fell into the hands of a number of petty rulers, and in A.H. 770 (A.D. 1368-9) the ruler of Daylamān proper, that is of the mountainous country immediately south of Lāhijān, was Kiyā Sayfu'd-Din Kūshayj, who was an Isma'īlī, and resided at Marjkūlī. He was killed nine years later by the troops of Sayyid 'Alī Kiyā. Another Amīra Kūshayj was ruler of Daylamān in A.H. 819 (A.D. 1416), whilst Kiyā Mas'ūd Kiyā and Jahānshāh Kiyā Kūshayj were lords of Khargām. The following year Daylamān was finally annexed by the wālis of Biyapish, and it remained part of their dominions until A.H. 1000 (A.D. 1591-2) when Shāh 'Abbās I conquered Gilān and appointed his own governors to administer that province.

The present Khāns of Daylamān came originally, I believe, from Qazwin. In the time of Āqā Muḥammad Khān and of Fathī 'Alī Shāh, Muḥammad Rizā Khān ibn Muḥammad ibn Mūsā ibn Muḥammad was a chief of some importance in Gilān, and his descendants claim that it was he who shot Hidāyatū'llāh Khān. The Khāns have their summer residence at Isbāylī near the village of Daylamān, and spend the winter in the lowlands at Barṣjān in Siyāhkāl. In 1916 the governor was Muḥammad Khān Mušīru'l-Mamālik ibn Habību'llāh Khān Mušīru'l-Mamālik ibn Abū'l-Fath Khān ibn Abū'l-Qāsim Khān ibn Muḥammad Rizā Khān.

RĀNIKŪH

The rulers of Rānikūh have been mentioned in a former paper.¹

Until quite recently the governorship of Langarūd and Rānikūh was hereditary in the Munajjim-Bāshī family. The first member of this family to bear the title of Munajjim-Bāshī, or chief astrologer, was a Mirzā Sādiq, who, when Aqā Muḥammad Khān Qājār sent Murtazā Quli Khān from Māzandarān against Hidāyatū'llāh Khān of Gilān, was

¹ See JRAS., Jan. 1918, pp. 86-7.

deputed by the latter, together with Aqā Sādiq of Lāhijān, to sue the Qājār for peace.

Mirzā Mūsā, a grandson of Mirzā Sādiq, accompanied in A.H. 1212 (A.D. 1797), by order of Fathī 'Ali Shāh, the body of Aqā Muḥammad Khān to Karbalā. He was appointed later governor of Gilān and defeated the Russians at Piladārbun in 1805. His son Hājjī Aqā Buzurk, his grandson Mirzā 'Abdu'l-Bāqī, and his great-grandson Mirzā Mahdī Khān were all three either *wazīr*, deputy-governor, or governor of Gilān. Since then the members of this family have ruined themselves in outbidding each other for the governorship of their district and have lost all their influence.

ASHKAWAR

In A.H. 706 (A.D. 1306-7), when Uljāytū came to Gilān, those of his troops that came from 'Qazwīn by way of Kūrāndasht and Lawsān passed through the dominions of a certain Hindūshāh who was confirmed in his governorship.

Towards the middle of the eighth century of the *Hijra*, Kiyā Isma'il of the Hazāraspī clan was ruler of Ashkawar. He was succeeded by Kiyā Malak, who was expelled in A.H. 776 (A.D. 1374-5) by the Amir Kiyā'i Sayyids, but regained possession of his district in A.H. 789 (A.D. 1387). He had put his own father to death, as well as his brother, and was murdered by his grandson, Kiyā Jalālu'd-Dīn, who succeeded him. Kiyā Jalālu'd-Dīn was murdered by a certain Mahdī Kiyā of the Kāmyārwand clan. Two of Kiyā Jalālu'd-Dīn's relatives, Kiyā Muḥammad and Kiyā Hazārasp, were killed in battle at Kāshkūh in A.H. 819 (A.D. 1416-17), and with them the rule of the Hazāraspī family came to an end.

CASABLANCA.

June 18, 1919.